

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8546  
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN POUCH  
AMCONSUL DURBAN POUCH  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE POUCH  
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG POUCH  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 PRETORIA 4327

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, SF  
SUBJECT: PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE: NATIONALIST PARTY CAUCUS AND  
PROVINCIAL CONGRESSES

1. SUMMARY: THE CAPE TOWN MEETING AUGUST 20 OF THE  
NATIONAL PARTY (NP) CAUCUS SET THE SCENE FOR THE ANNUAL  
SERIES OF NP PROVINCIAL CONGRESSES, THE FIRST OF WHICH  
OPENED IN CAPE TOWN AUGUST 22. THE FOCUS OF THESE GATHERINGS  
WILL BE ON THE PROPOSED MODIFICATIONS IN THE WESTMINSTER  
SYSTEM TO ACCOMMODATE TO A DEGREE THE POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS  
OF THE COLOREDS AND INDIANS. LITTLE PROGRESS TOWARD  
AMELIORATION OF INSTITUTIONALIZED DISCRIMINATION  
AGAINST BLACKS IS ANTICIPATED, THOUGH THE QUESTION  
OF CONSOLIDATION OF THE HOMELANDS MAY BE RAISED. THE  
BASICS OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT WILL NOT BE COMPROMISED.  
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THE LEADERSHIP'S CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY WILL BE FIRMLY  
ENDORSED AS WILL ITS REJECTION OF EXTERNAL "INTIMIDATION."  
END SUMMARY.

2. THE NEW DISPENSATION: THE CENTER PIECE OF THE  
NATIONAL PARTY (NP) MEETINGS OVER THE COMING WEEKS  
WILL BE THE CHANGES PROPOSED BY THE CABINET COMMITTEE

IN THE WESTMINSTER SYSTEM TO PROVIDE THE COLOREDS AND INDIANS SOME AUTHORITY OVER THEIR OWN AFFAIRS AND A ROLE IN DELIBERATIONS ON NATIONAL ISSUES, WHILE RESERVING TO WHITES THE ULTIMATE DECISION-MAKING POWER IN ALL MATTERS OF CONCERN TO THEM. THE "NEW DISPENSATION," THE MAIN BUSINESS OF THE AUGUST 20 CAUCUS, MAKES NO PROVISION FOR THE BLACKS (PRETORIA 3919). THE "SOLUTION" TO THE PROBLEM OF ACCOMMODATING THE POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE BLACKS LIES IN THE HOMELANDS POLICY. EVER SINCE THE NP IN 1957 DEPRIVED THE COLOREDS OF EVEN INDIRECT REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT, THE QUESTION OF HOW TO FIT THE COLOREDS AND INDIANS INTO THE SCHEME OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT HAS REMAINED UNANSWERED. THE ADVISORY COUNCILS ESTABLISHED IN 1969 FOR THESE TWO GROUPS WERE PALLIATIVES REJECTED FROM THE OUTSET BY MOST COLOREDS AND INDIANS. THE UPSURGE IN THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT AND THE INCREASING TENDENCY FOR FRUSTRATED COLOREDS TO IDENTIFY WITH IT HAS ADDED URGENCY TO THE SEARCH FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL SOLUTION WHICH WOULD CO-OPT COLOREDS AND INDIANS INTO THE SYSTEM WHILE MAINTAINING WHITE PREDOMINANCE AND SEPARATENESS.

3. TO A LARGE EXTENT, THE CABINET COMMITTEE'S PROPOSALS REPRESENT THE PARTY'S ANSWER TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE THERON COMMISSION REPORT (CAPE TOWN A-21) FOR DIRECT COLORED REPRESENTATION AT LOCAL, PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT. THE THERON PROPOSALS  
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CONTRAVENED THE BASIC NP TENETS OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RACES AND NO "POWER-SHARING." AND, IN ANY EVENT, AFRIKANER NATIONALISTS ARE NOT PREPARED TO EMBARK ON A COURSE OPENING THE EVENTUAL POSSIBILITY FOR COLORED AND INDIAN COALITION WITH THE WHITE ENGLISH-SPEAKING OPPOSITION TO FORM A MAJORITY AND OUST THE NP FROM POWER.

4. THOUGH THE "NEW DISPENSATION" WILL PRESUMABLY BE APPROVED BY THE NP CONGRESSES, DEBATE ON THE ISSUE MAY AT TIMES BE INTENSE AND SOME MODIFICATIONS MAY RESULT. THERE ARE SOME VERLIGTE AFRIKANERS, PARTICULARLY ACADEMICS, WHO BELIEVE THE SCHEME IS FATALLY FLAWED BECAUSE IT MAKES NO PROVISION FOR URBAN BLACKS, A FACTOR WHICH THEY THINK WILL LEAD TO REJECTION BY THE COLOREDS. THE MORE CONSERVATIVE AFRIKANERS--THE VERKRAMPTE--ARE HESITANT TO RELINQUISH FROM WHITE HANDS ANY DECISION-MAKING AUTHORITY AT ALL. THEY ARE LIKELY TO ATTEMPT TO ASSURE AT LEAST A CAUTIOUS, PHASED IMPLEMENTATION. ALTERATIONS IN THE CABINET COMMITTEE'S PROPOSALS IN A LIBERAL DIRECTION ARE NOT TO BE EXPECTED.

5. THE URBAN BLACKS. AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR OF TURMOIL

IN THE BLACK TOWNSHIPS, THE NATIONALIST GATHERINGS CAN SCARCELY IGNORE CONSIDERATION OF THE DILEMMA POSED BY THE COUNTRY'S 4-5 MILLION URBAN BLACKS, THOUGH NO NEW DEPARTURES FROM PRESENT POLICY ARE LIKELY.

6. THE SOWETO COMMITTEE OF TEN'S RECENT INITIATIVE PROPOSING GENUINE LOCAL AUTONOMY WITHIN THE APARTHEID SYSTEM FOR THE GIANT TOWNSHIP STRUCK A FEW RESPONSIVE CHORDS AMONG AFRIKANERS. EDUCATION MINISTER PIET KOORNHOF HAD, IN FACT, ALREADY SUGGESTED--ALBEIT VERY TENTATIVELY--THAT URBAN BLACK COMMUNITIES MIGHT ULTIMATELY BE INCLUDED IN A SWISS CANTON-TYPE ARRANGEMENT (CAPE TOWN 0863). OTHER VERLIGTES HAVE SPOKEN OUT FRANKLY IN FAVOR OF CONSULTING WITH THE COMMITTEE OF TEN AND AT CONFIDENTIAL

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LEAST CONSIDERING ITS PROPOSALS. AFRIKANER INTELLECTUALS, INCLUDING ACADEMICS AND EDITORS OF AFRIKANER NEWSPAPERS, SEEMED PREPARED TO DEAL WITH URBAN BLACK TOWNSHIPS AS AN ELEMENT DISTINCT FROM "HOMELANDS" IN THE SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 PRETORIA 4327

7. THE PARTY LEADERSHIP, HOWEVER, IS DOMINATED BY THOSE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO COMPROMISE OF THE DOGMA THAT URBAN BLACKS ARE NOT SOUTH AFRICANS BUT TRANSIENT ALIENS WHO ALREADY HAVE AN OUTLET FOR THEIR POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS IN THE HOMELANDS. PRIME MINISTER VORSTER ADHERES TO THIS VIEW. WHATEVER FLEXIBILITY HE MAY HAVE ON THIS ISSUE IS OFFSET BY HIS FEAR OF ALIENATING THE RIGHT WING AND SPLITTING THE PARTY. WHILE THE QUESTION OF INCLUDING URBAN BLACKS IN SOME WAY IN THE NEW POLITICAL DISPENSATION MAY BE RAISED BY BOLDER VERLIGTES, THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THE PARTY WILL STICK CLOSELY TO ESTABLISHED POLICY. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW COMMUNITY COUNCILS, WHICH WERE APPROVED BY PARLIAMENT EARLIER THIS YEAR AND WHICH (TO THE DISTRESS OF SOME CONSERVATIVES) PROVIDE FOR VERY CAREFULLY LIMITED LOCAL DECISION-MAKING, WILL MOST LIKELY BE ENDORSED DESPITE THE CONFIDENTIAL

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EVIDENCE OF OVERWHELMING REJECTION BY THE URBAN BLACK POPULATION.

8. HOMELANDS. A GLARING WEAKNESS IN THE APARTHEID SYSTEM IS THE FRAGMENTED STATE OF THE HOMELANDS AND THERE APPEARS TO BE A GROWING SENTIMENT AMONG NATIONALISTS, INCLUDING A NUMBER OF CONSERVATIVES, IN FAVOR OF CONSOLIDATION OF THOSE TERRITORIES. KOORNHOF, CONNIE MULDER AND EVEN ARCH-CONSERVATIVE ANDRIES TRUERNICHT HAVE ALL SPOKEN OF THE NEED FOR SUCH A STEP. FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA HAS POINTED TO THE INCREDULITY OF OTHERWISE SYMPATHETIC FOREIGNERS WHEN VIEWING THE MOTTLED HOMELANDS MAP.

9. THE LINKING-UP OF THE SCATTERED PIECES OF EACH TRIBAL "NATION" IS GENERALLY UNDERSTOOD TO MEAN EXPANSION OF THE AREA ALLOTTED TO THE HOMELANDS BEYOND THE 13 PERCENT OF SOUTH AFRICA THEY NOW OCCUPY. THE MORE SERIOUS PROPONENTS OF CONSOLIDATION BELIEVE IT MUST BE GENEROUS IN ORDER TO MAKE THE HOMELANDS VIABLE AND CAPABLE OF ABSORBING THE RAPIDLY GROWING BLACK POPULATION. THE EXPENSE OF BUYING-OUT WHITE-OWNED TRACTS WOULD BE EXHORBITANT SO THOUGHT IS NOW BEING GIVEN TO CEDING WHITE LAND AREAS, INCLUDING SOME WHITE TOWNS, TO THE HOMELANDS WITH TENURE GUARANTEED FOR THE PRESENT WHITE OWNERS.

10. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE PARTY CONGRESSES THIS YEAR WILL CONSIDER SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN HOMELANDS POLICY, BUT PROPOSALS FOR A CABINET-LEVEL STUDY OF

CONSOLIDATION MAY EMERGE. THERE ARE NATIONALISTS WHO BELIEVE, NOW THAT TRANSFORMATION IN THE WESTMINSTER SYSTEM IS UNDER WAY, THIS WILL BE THE GOVERNMENT'S NEXT MAJOR UNDERTAKING.

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12. PETTY APARTHEID. SHARP DEBATE WITHIN THE NATIONAL PARTY OVER VARIOUS ASPECTS OF PETTY APARTHEID HAS RECENTLY SURFACED. NATIONALIST LEADERS HAVE REPEATEDLY SPOKEN OF THE INTENTION TO ELIMINATE "UNNECESSARY" DISCRIMINATION. MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE SCHOEMAN, SUPPORTED BY OTHERS, RECENTLY SUGGESTED THE DESIRABILITY OF REPEALING THE MIXED-MARRIAGE AND IMMORALITY ACTS (PRETORIA 3919). PIET KOORNHOF HAS OPENLY FEUDED WITH ADRIES TREURNICHT AND CONNIE MULDER OVER MULTI-RACIAL SPORTS CLUBS; AND M.C. BOTHA'S BANNING OF BLACK MANAGERS FROM ENTERPRISES IN WHITE AREAS HAS AROUSED CONTROVERSY IN NATIONALIST RANKS. MEANWHILE, THE JOHANNESBURG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE HAS CALLED FOR THE SCRAPPING OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN ALL DOWNTOWN RESTAURANTS, THEATERS AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES. MOREOVER, IN RESPONSE TO A MAJOR GRIEVANCE OF REBELLIOUS BLACK TOWNSHIP YOUTH, THERE ARE MOVES AFOOT TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF BLACK EDUCATION. LEADING AFRIKANER GERRIT VILJOEN, RECTOR OF RANDS AFRIKAANS UNIVERSITY AND BROEDERBOND PRESIDENT, HAS TOLD US THAT, WITH THIS END IN VIEW, THERE IS AN ACTIVE PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL EDUCATION BOARD TO OVERSEE PLANNING IN BOTH BLACK AND WHITE EDUCATION. THIS PROPOSAL, WHICH VILJOEN SAID HAS THE SUPPORT OF THREE CABINET MINISTERS, COULD, IF ADOPTED, BE THE FIRST STEP IN DISMANTLING BANTU EDUCATION.

12. BUT, DESPITE THESE DEVELOPMENTS AND SAG ASSERTIONS THAT IT IS "MOVING AWAY FROM DISCRIMINATION," LITTLE OF SUBSTANCE HAS BEEN ACHIEVED AND THE OUTLOOK IS NOT BRIGHT. THE LEADERSHIP IS EXTREMELY SENSITIVE TO GRASS ROOTS RESISTANCE TO CHANGES. THE PREDOMINANCE OF THE RIGIDLY CONSERVATIVE ELEMENT IN THE NP HAS BEEN EFFECTIVELY DEMONSTRATED BY THE FACT THAT BOTH KOORNHOF AND SCHOEMAN HAVE BEEN OBLIGED TO RECENT PUBLICLY ON THEIR SUGGESTIONS ABOUT MIXED SPORT AND THE MIXED-MARRIAGE AND IMMORALITY ACTS.

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MOREOVER, ACCORDING TO GERRIT VILJOEN, M.C. BOTHA

HAS SO FAR BLOCKED THE MOVES TOWARD IMPROVING BLACK EDUCATION. WHILE PETTY APARTHEID ISSUES WILL PROBABLY BE DISCUSSED, WE WOULD ANTICIPATE FEW IF ANY POSITIVE DECISIONS OF SIGNIFICANCE IN THIS AREA.

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13. FOREIGN AFFAIRS. RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA WILL BE PRIME TOPICS OF INTEREST AT THE PARTY MEETINGS, BUT IN THIS AREA MORE THAN OTHERS, THE PARLIAMENTARIANS AND THE LOCAL PARTY OFFICIALS WILL BE EXPECTED ESSENTIALLY TO LISTEN. THE GENERAL THEME IS LIKELY TO BE SA'S EARNEST AND CONTINUING EFFORTS TO PLAY THE HONEST BROKER ON RHODESIA AND TO BRING ABOUT AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT, WHILE ASSURING THE PROTECTION OF THE WHITE MINORITIES IN THOSE COUNTRIES AND GUARDING AGAINST DETERIORATION IN SA'S OWN SECURITY. IN THE DEFIANT SPIRIT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S AND FOREIGN MINISTER'S RECENT PUBLIC ASSERTIONS (PRETORIA 3996 AND 4094), STRESS WILL NO DOUBT BE LAID ON THE ADMONITION TO THE WEST, THE US IN PARTICULAR, THAT SA WILL NOT PERMIT ITSELF TO BE INTIMIDATED. WE CAN ANTICIPATE THAT THE PARTY WILL BE EXHORTED TO PREPARE

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FOR INCREASED INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE IN THE UNSUBSTANTIATED  
BELIEF THAT THERE IS PROBABLY NOTHING SA CAN REALISTICALLY  
DO AT THIS STAGE WHICH WILL SATISFY THE OUTSIDE WORLD.  
THE CALL FOR WHITE SOLIDARITY IN THE FACT OF THIS ADVERSITY  
WILL FIND A RECEPTIVE AUDIENCE.  
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